113, 539 Ukraine RD1

[For a brief analysis of the texts of old Ukrainian folk songs see 7:Lineva, RF1 Great Russia, category 116, pp. 47-51.]

the peerage and gave them rights and privileges 556
for which the newly-created peers were obliged to 565
pay with military service. In this way the lower szlachta increased to many hundreds of thousands of knights and barons who were often not much richer than the ordinary peasants. In the purely Polish regions and in West Ukraine there are still whole villages in which every peasant belongs to the nobility. Whoever was able to present his patent of nobility in Galicia after the partitioning of Poland was recognized as a peer by the Viennese court. In this way arose the Ritter /knights/ von Vitvicky, von Mogylnicki, von Kultshycki and whatever the rest are called.

Whereas the high nobility, with the exception of people like the former Princes Ostrozhsky 565
does not play any part in promoting culture in 517
modern times in the Ukraine, the lesser nobility 793
were for a long time practically the only bearers of Ukrainian culture. They made up the clergy almost exclusively. /100/ The pastors with their numerous children were often the only and the inexhaustible source of Ukrainian intelligentsia. Otherwise there were no intellectual professions open to the Ukrainians. Only the Catholics, that is to say, the Poles could become officials.

The Poles held to the old traditions of the lower nobility in their "Union of village szlachta". 566
According to the latest Polish conception, the lower Ukrainian nobility are Ukrainized Poles. By promising them additional land and other material advantages, Warsaw wanted to catch the 400,000 "aristocratic souls". If this had succeeded, the Poles would have come a good deal closer to a majority in Galicia.

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"In this cottage, in this grove 539
A hell I saw! Nothing but slavery 538
And bitter servitude, that never justice knows

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Are there. No time remains for God.
There pain and sorrow
Spent my mother's strength
And drove her, young, into the grave...
And helplessly among his brood -
For we were naked then and young -
My father worked himself to death
And died a slave...And we, orphaned now,
Abandoned our little hut
And moved away..." (54)

54. Quoted from Ukrainian Literature in the Service of its Nation, page 8.

538 Taras Shevchenko is the author of this poem. With him begins a new period of progress for the Ukrainian people after the end of Cossack glory and the period of greatest decline. One of the first to lay the foundation for this development which has not yet ceased, is Ivan Kotliarevskyj with whom begins the period of modern Ukrainian literature freed from Byzantinism and religious bonds. /101/ This was toward the end of the eighteenth century. His travesty of Virgil's Aeneid appeared in 1798 and was the first work to be printed in the Ukrainian popular tongue which from then on becomes the literary language of the Ukrainians. In 1818 the first grammar [177] follows. Around this time the ideas of the German Romanticists also come in and enduringly influence the Ukrainian intellectual world. People study their native language, tradition, folklore and history and in doing so, discover a past whose richness was scarcely imagined.

But the national impulses of the Ukrainian romanticists remain a "melancholy national feeling" until, around 1840, Taras Shevchenko stirs up the slumbering spirits. "The song of this poet had truly the effect of the resurrection trumpet of the archangel." Thus Panyko Kulish, the versatile brain of the Ukrainian in-

538 tellectual world at that time, characterized the influence of Shevchenko. His landlord had had him educated as a painter in Warsaw and Petersburg. By means of a lottery, the friends of the 24-year-old artist obtained the 2500 rubles necessary to buy off a serf. Shevchenko enjoyed his freedom from 1838 to 1847. Then he was arrested in Kiyev along with many other Ukrainian poets, authors and scholars. They all belonged to the "Cyril-Methodius Brotherhood" which inscribed on its banner the federation of all Slavic republics on a democratic basis. Taras Shevchenko was exiled to ten years of labor on a fortress in the Kirghiz steppes. "Writing and painting are prohibited!" the Czar noted in his own handwriting on the margin of the sentence. Four years after he was released the artist died far from home in Petersburg.

Merely a poet! And yet the nine years of freedom between serfdom and exile sufficed this tremendous spirit to build a bridge across the centuries - from the age of the Cossacks up to the new Ukrainian nationalism. Merely a poet, but what an explosive force was hidden in his /102/ ballads and poems, what effects were produced by his conjuring up of the past, his song of songs on freedom and his call to action! His "Kobsar" ('kobsar' was the name of the singers of famous folk epics from the time of the Cossacks) clothed all the national-political demands of the Ukrainian people in a sweeping poetic form and by this very means reached all classes of people.

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•539 "Hills upon hills, cloud-encircled,
Sown with sorrow, drenched in blood...
There, full of mercy, We shackled
Freedom and pursued her as she wandered
About the land, hungry, naked...Here lie

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Untold hosts of hirelings.
And tears? Blood? Verily enough
To sate all czars,
To drown them and their progeny
In widows' tears... The tears of maidens
Shed throughout full nights of longing,
The burning pain of mothers' tears,
Our hoary fathers' tears of blood
No stream could hold, - ah no,
A sea, a fiery sea!... Oh honor
To all dogs and tyrants
And to the Czar, our little father."(55)

55. "Taras Shevchenko" in Beiträge zur Ukrainekunde, Number 6, Berlin 1937.

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The political concept of an "indivisible Russia" suggests the suppression of all Ukrainian movements toward independence, even if they be merely of a cultural nature. In accordance with this, and on the basis of the principle followed by the Russian Minister of Education Valuiev: "There is no separate Little Russian language, there never was and never can be", Moscow issued a general printed statement prohibiting all /103/ Ukrainian writings. Ukrainian culture which is 700 years older than the Muscovite culture based on it was simply declared invalid. Belletristic works by Ukrainian pens may appear only in Russian spelling. All writing was sharply censured, concerts, lectures and theatrical performances were forbidden. Later the theatrical prohibition was relaxed a bit, but for each Ukrainian play a Russian one of equal length had to be performed. Since members of the higher classes would be unrefined if they spoke Ukrainian, actors portraying persons from cultivated circles has to speak only Russian even to Ukrainian plays.

661 665 668 after two months of office for alleged treasonable contacts with Ukrainian separatists. After Bondarenko, Vlas Y. Chubar, a Vice-Premier in the Central Government, became Ukrainian Premier. He was purged in the spring of 1938. Together with the three Prime Ministers, Lyubchenko, Bondarenko and Chubar, a large number of Ukrainian ministers, high officials and party dignitaries were removed from their posts including the party secretaries, Kosior and Postyshev, once so powerful. The purge of the Ukrainian Communist Party was so thorough that of the thirteen members forming the Ukrainian Politbureau in April 1937 not one was left by June 1938. One of the last prominent Ukrainian communists to disappear was Grigory Ivanovich Petrovsky, the President of the Ukrainian S.S.R. There is no evidence of Petrovsky, Kosior or Chubar ever having been sentenced by a court. No public trial of a Ukrainian communist leader seems to have taken place after March 1938 when Grigory Fyodorovich Grinko, Finance Minister of the U.S.S.R. was sentenced to death as a 'Ukrainian nationalist' and 'Polish spy'.

To clear up the situation in the Ukraine, Stalin, early in 1938, appointed two new men to the key positions of that republic. The party secretary of Moscow, Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchov became first party secretary of the Ukraine and M. A. Burmistenko second secretary. From the point of view of the Kremlin, Burmistenko's appointment was a mistake. He mysteriously vanished during the Nazi invasion of the Ukraine and may even have deserted to the enemy. Khrushchov, on the other hand, was the right man for the job. When taking it over he made a statement extremely characteristic of the entire communist Ukraine policy. He declared that the traitors to party and country would be annihilated to the last man just as Taras Bulba had killed the betrayer of his own people.

[539] The Cossack Ataman, Taras Bulba, the hero of Gogol's famous novel, slew his son, Andriy, who fell in love with a beautiful Polish girl, betrayed his homeland, his Orthodox faith and fought against his own people. Seen through modern eyes, Andriy is but a symbol of Polish, Western and Catholic orientation among the Ukrainians.

Yet Taras Bulba had still another son, Ostap, who represents the daring loyal Cossack fighter bravely enduring all tortures by the Poles who put him to death. The death of Ostap is the prelude to the triumph of Ostap's cause: 120,000 Cossacks appear on the horizon of the Ukraine, a victorious army sweeping away the enemies, the Poles. Taras died in this great struggle but before his death he pronounced a last curse upon the Poles and forecast the final triumph of the 'Russian faith' and the 'Russian Czar'. 'The time will come', said Taras, 'when there will be no power in the world which will not be conquered by him'.